

AMERICAN OPINION

In this number

EUROPEAN SURVEY

William S. Schlamm

IF YOU WANT IT STRAIGHT

A REVIEW OF REVIEWS

Revilo P. Oliver

A REVIEW OF THE NEWS

AN INFORMAL REVIEW

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AMERICAN OPINION

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April 7, 1961

Dear Reader:

This letter was started on March 25. Two weeks and several thousand telephone calls later, we are starting it again.

During those two weeks we have learned what it is like to be a "reluctant dragon." Everybody wants us to breathe fire. All four of our trunklines are frequently tied up simultaneously by the press services, television and radio networks, and independent stations and newspapers throughout the country, demanding that we devour the enemy over their particular facilities, for the delectation of their customers.

But we have no desire to feed a flood of publicity we did not want, any more than is absolutely necessary by the stream of our conscientious effort. So far as circumstances will permit, we shall stick to fighting in our own way with our own weapons. This magazine is one such weapon. We shall try—despite those telephones—to maintain its efficiency and sharpness. And we shall count on you to help us to increase its reach.

Sincerely,

Robert Welch

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IF YOU WANT IT STRAIGHT . . .

Let's talk about Communism and Communists for a change.

Of course we are aware that, according to the impression laboriously created by *Time*, the *New York Times*, our State Department, and other leading exponents of the Liberal line, there are practically no Communists left in America. Thwarted in their attempts to take over the country—by the strong anti-Communist attitudes and measures of *Time*, the *New York Times*, our State Department, and their allies—the few Communists who were here, defeated and discouraged, have folded their tents like the Arabs and as silently stolen away. (They have stolen everything else, so we are sure they would steal a way if they could find one not nailed down.)

The UnTIMELY Truth

But somehow we are not convinced. Every time any patriotic American, hearing suspicious noises from the chicken coops of government or education or labor or any other enclosures on our national animal farm, takes a shotgun and goes out to investigate, he is practically deafened by cries from the top roosts: "There ain't nobody here but just us Liberals." The voices of these "chickens," however, have a strange and disturbing familiarity. Many of them can be readily recognized as belonging to exactly the same "Liberals" who were so successful in the past in covering up some of the Kremlin's most ambitious and devastating raids on our neighboring farms. In fact it was the cackling set off by these pseudo-liberals that kept the American people from observing what was really taking place all around us.

So, while we wish to give the new administration every chance to prove itself pro-American if it can and will, before our small voice is raised in pointed alarm against it, we must

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still caution our readers not to put undue credence in the flatteries bestowed during the honeymoon period by even those units of our press which are supposed to have two eyes and a conscience. For it is not the biased pugwash that passes in *Time* for reporting, in the *New York Times* for editorial comment, and in our State Department for policy, which so misleads the better informed patriots of America.

Most of our readers, for instance, are familiar with the unending series of "mistakes" on the part of the whole "Loose" press. They remember that *Life* gave Tito what was probably the most extensive and glowingly laudatory build-up ever deliberately provided any individual by any publication. They remember *Time's* viciously dirty attacks on Senator Joe McCarthy. And, to come to a far smaller and less important illustration, they have just recently read in *Time* a short article about The John Birch Society which was so full of demonstrable errors, distortions, and fabrications as to make your head swim. And nobody who knows his way around the "literary" part of the barnyard would put any more credence in the interpretations and analyses of the *New York Times*—or in the explanations of our State Department—than in the "facts" presented by *Time*. But it is the almost incredible blindness of our more responsible press which causes the misinformation and false expectations of the American people to be so dangerous. Just for example let us dig one tiny incident out of the deep archives. For it is a blade of grass from which you could have projected the whole crab-grass growth which is spreading so vigorously today.

About A Hundred Percent Error

In front of me is an article published in the *Wall Street Journal* on February 6, 1953. The then new administration had been in office just over two weeks. The title of the article is "Sound as a Dollar." The subtitle is: *The New Administration Is Determined To Make The Phrase True Again*. And the

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purport of the whole article was the visible and unshakable determination of the Eisenhower administration to reduce the size of government, institute extensive economies, stop inflation by adopting sound fiscal policies, and thus restore increasing confidence in the dollar.

At one point typical of the whole article its author, Joseph E. Evans, gushed: "In the State Department, which had mushroomed unbelievably, you are left in no doubt the staff is going to be withheld unmercifully. It's hard to credit the fact that this actually is the same Washington." Actually the only change with regard to the mushrooming of the State Department during the next eight years was the increasing difficulty of finding out just how large it had become, and the increasing brazenness of the misrepresentations by the State Department itself as to its size and total personnel.

The article ended with this paragraph: "Chiefly, however, the attack will be made on the size and cost of government itself. From what's happened so far, there can be no doubt of the vigor—grimness is really the word—with which it will be pursued. So, if you can't call your dollar sound by the end of this year, don't despair—it's well on the road."

Now the truth is, of course, that by exactly the opposite of the policies and purposes outlined by Mr. Evans, the Eisenhower administration did more damage during the next eight years to confidence in the dollar than all the strain of both world wars put together. Its extravagancies were so great, its fiscal policies so unsound, and its word as to its intentions so worthless, that at the end of its eight-year reign there was serious doubt, at home and abroad, as to the stability of our dollar, for the first time in ninety years—or since resumption of specie payments shortly after the Civil War.

Although we do not now remember ever having heard of Joseph E. Evans, before or since the appearance of his opus under discussion, it is obvious that in this article he was acting as a spokesman, however unofficial, for the new administration. And it is and *was* obvious that his purpose was to help the

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administration to beguile the American people into not demanding general tax reductions, or the removal of the eleven percent "Korean War" "temporary" boost in personal income taxes, or the expiration on June 30, as scheduled, of the "temporary" excess profits tax. Congress was to be maneuvered into letting up on its demands for such promised and expected relief by a lot of high-sounding hypocrisy about the determination of the administration to balance the budget and preserve the soundness of the dollar at all costs.

Of course the new administration was not determined to do any such thing—as any high school senior who had ever lost his week's allowance to a fast-talking spender should have been able to tell the *Wall Street Journal*. (And this is not hindsight on the part of this editor, as we could prove by the record.) This expectation of fiscal sanity and a reduction in the size of government, from the "inner circle" men who visibly were ordained to run the Eisenhower administration and shape its policies, was utter nonsense. For despite a sprinkling of good Americans who had to be taken into the fold for protective coloration, the then new administration was completely full of men who were determined—and whose whole past record showed them to be determined—to do everything possible to expand government and take other steps which were bound to depreciate the value of the dollar, and who were to be remarkably successful at it during the next eight years. And what's more, the *Wall Street Journal* had the resources and connections to find this out if it were merely willing to open its eyes enough to tell a hawk from a handsaw.

And now we come to the real point. Your editor regarded the *Wall Street Journal* in 1953, and still regards it today, as *by far* the best newspaper of large circulation in America. And when we get this kind of inane superficiality from our best daily paper, where on earth are the American people going to turn to avoid being brainwashed by the socialists?

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Unlike The Bourbons, Our Press Learns Nothing But Forgets Everything

All of which serves simply as an introduction to Exhibit No. 2 in this short tour. And if it is true that a burned child fears the fire, then we had better turn over the whole conduct of our international affairs to some good kindergarten. For the American people as a whole, through both their press and their government, seem to be unendingly willing to have exactly the same deceptions practiced on them, in exactly the same way, by one Communist puppet after another, year after year and decade after decade. And the latest of these murderous agents of the Kremlin being foisted on us as a great liberal democrat is that very same Romulo Betancourt of Venezuela, about whom we gave the true facts in this magazine only a year ago.

Many friends now write your editor somewhat as follows: "I'm disturbed. You see, you were wrong about Betancourt being a Communist. And that makes us lose confidence in your other analyses." And so we must spend time and space and effort, which might be used for other purposes, in going back over ground already covered. All because good Americans have a natural proclivity and preference for believing the most absurd nonsense, if it is comforting nonsense, instead of obvious truth that disturbs their euphoria.

For of course we were *not* wrong about Mr. Betancourt, and *are* not, as that ambitious Communist will make amply clear in time. But by then it will be too late to matter, and the Communists will no longer mind having the truth known. The hackneyed deception will already have served its many purposes—one small purpose being to hamper the work and effectiveness of anti-Communists like ourselves. And how are these friends led to close their eyes to the known facts about Betancourt? Well, by the promotion of him, exactly as Tito was promoted, by our State Department and so much of our press in general; but in the present instance by one article in the April, 1961 *Reader's Digest* in particular. So let's examine briefly that quin-

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tessence of the whole beguiling absurdity.

The article, by one Lester Velie, deserves examination as a work of art. For having read more than my share of this type of "literature" for years, I thought I had seen the all-time high-water line of skillful slipperiness in writing, reached by the late Elmer Davis in his *But We Were Born Free*. Now I think an "agonizing reappraisal" may be called for, as to whether the Pugwash Prize should not be given to Mr. Lester Velie. Certainly this Russian-born Roving Editor for the *Reader's Digest* now deserves serious consideration in the contest.

"But," my friends protest, "the standing and undisputable anti-Communist slant of the *Reader's Digest* itself is sufficient guarantee of the honesty and accuracy of any article it runs." To which we reply, in dignified rejoinder: "Nuts." Let's state right here, instead of at the end of this section, that this editor considers the *Reader's Digest* as *by far* the best and most dependable magazine of large circulation in America. And so do a lot of other people. Which is why the appearance of Dickey Chapelle's article on Castro in the *Digest* just two years ago, and of this article by Velie in the February, 1961 issue, were so tragic for the anti-Communist cause. For any idea that Jove cannot nod, or that the *Saturday Evening Post* couldn't have an Edgar Snow to help to build up Mao Tse-tung as an agrarian reformer, or the *Chicago Tribune* a Jules Dubois to help to build up Castro as a Robin Hood, or the *Reader's Digest* a Lester Velie to help to build up Betancourt as a liberal Democrat, is to be utterly blind to the facts of life in a world where Communist influences now make gullible nonsense—peddlers out of editors, writers, and readers alike.

As to the sacrosanct trustworthiness of the *Reader's Digest*, just hover for a minute over their article about Castro mentioned above. It appeared in April, 1959, some four months after Castro had already seized power in Cuba by typical Communist methods, with a typical Communist following, and was already visibly establishing a Communist dictatorship. Just from intrinsic evidence within the article itself, it was nauseat-

ingly absurd.

In ridiculing any idea that Castro himself was a Communist, and glorifying him as a revolutionary idealist, the author fulsomely praised Castro, for instance, because his troops had fought their guerilla war in civilian clothes instead of in uniform. No more criminal reversion to barbarism could be conceived than any such deliberate conduct, of what purported to be a civil war, by guerillas dressed like the very farmers whose homes they were destroying and families they were murdering. When wars are again fought without uniforms, so that no man can tell who is enemy and who is friend, we have really tossed overboard the slowly civilizing influences of thousands of years and gone back to a savagery of which only Communists are capable in our modern world. Yet Dickey Chapelle held Castro up for highest praise, in the pages of *Reader's Digest*, for this very "advance to barbarism."

As to the main theme of the whole article, that Castro was not a Communist but was a great social reformer who deserved the full support of our government and people, the facts otherwise were already so clear and incontrovertible—as already published by ourselves, among others—as to make the *Digest* look ridiculous in short order (as we said it would at the time).

One of our readers and good personal friends, who had also known DeWitt Wallace personally, having unwavering confidence in our facts and our analysis of those facts, entered into quite a correspondence with Mr. Wallace over that article. We saw some of the letters. The last we remember Wallace was still painfully trying to defend and support the position his magazine had taken in this instance, but we trust that by now he might admit that Fidel Castro could conceivably have some slight Communist sympathies. It is painful to see a great editor get himself in that position, but we can assure him he has certainly done it again.

For Mr. Velie's article begins its nonsense with its title: *The Latin American The Communists Fear Most*. And we are certain that will be as much of a surprise to the Machado

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Brothers (the most famous Venezuelan Communists) and to Jesús Fariá, the Venezuelan Communist labor boss, as it was to us. While we hate to think of Paz Estenssoro, the Communist "President" of Bolivia and Juan Lechín, the Communist labor dictator of that country, laughing themselves completely to death over this joke.

The first couple of pages of the article are largely given over to the "empty belly" theory of the causes of Communism. Any good ruler must raise the standard of living of his underdeveloped people to keep them from going Communist. And so everything the Communists like to have done in every country, from increasing the bureaucracy and the extravagances of a central government, to taking the land away from the thrifty citizens who own it, becomes glorified as a means of preventing Communism. But this whole Communist line and strategy has become so hackneyed by now, and so clearly recognized as pugwash by informed students of the world-wide conspiracy, that it is not worth wasting time over for our readers.

Then, after some fulsome praises of the industriousness of "this placid, scholarly man"—who, according to Mr. Velie, rises regularly at 5:00 A.M. and reads in bed each evening until after midnight—we come to "When Betancourt took office in 1959, following the overthrow of dictator Marcos Pérez Jiménez, he had two tasks . . ." Now this doesn't actually say so, but the implication certainly seems both clear and intentional that Betancourt's rule immediately followed the overthrow of Jiménez. But the facts are that Jiménez was overthrown by a so-called "Patriotic Junta" on January 23, 1958. Romulo Betancourt took office on February 13, 1959.

The next paragraph begins: "Although the dictatorship (referring to Jiménez's rule) had imprisoned or murdered the leaders of a democratic underground, it had left the Communists to flourish virtually unmolested." Let's glean the facts from some other sources. On January 30, 1958, seven days after Jiménez was ousted, the *Manchester Guardian* reported: "Refugees from the old political régimes in Venezuela are being

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sought in Britain with the offer of a free air passage back home, to be paid for by the new Government." The quality and impact of these returning refugees (of whom Betancourt was one, though from Mexico rather than England) became obvious a few months later. On August 2, 1958 the *London Economist* said: "The Defense Minister [of Venezuela] issued what amounted to an ultimatum . . . demanding . . . the outlawing of the Acción Democrática and Communist Parties." (Acción Democrática was and is the party headed by Betancourt.) And of course the Defense Minister failed in his endeavors and was promptly forced to resign.

The *New York Times* had reported on July 24: ". . . all observers . . . must be alarmed over the strength Communism has assumed in the country . . . President Larrazábal has been singularly favorable to the Communists. Even the press of Caracas seems afraid to antagonize them. (Mr. Velie would have had you believe that it was Jiménez who had thus allowed the Communists to gain so in strength and influence — even though it was Jiménez's hostile firmness towards the Communists which actually had caused Betancourt, Larrazábal, and their confused followers to hate Jiménez so, and had led to his overthrow.) On July 23, 1958 the *Christian Science Monitor* had reported: Communist party "ranks have swelled from 5,000 to 26,000 members in four months." And on September 4 the *New York Times* said: ". . . it is a fact that the Venezuelan press has suppressed news unfavorable to the Communists." The "unmolested flourishing" of the Communists had begun after Jiménez had been deposed, and under the groups, comprising the "Patriotic Junta," which had been primarily front men for Betancourt—although the army officers in the Junta didn't realize the part they were playing until it was too late.

The next page or two of the article consists of a glorification of the very "social reforms" by Betancourt, for which the "dictator" Jiménez was roundly condemned when carrying them out on a much more sensible and fiscally responsible basis. The article then returns to a brief and misleading and incredibly

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glossed-over account of Betancourt's earlier life; drags in some cruelties Jiménez is supposed to have committed; and winds up with an effulgent encomium of Don Romulo as the great idol of the people of Venezuela. And the whole article has about as much bearing on reality as there would have been in an essay about Al Capone, dealing with his eating habits and how much money he gave to charity.

The greatest distortion and most misleading effects of the article, of course, are accomplished by omission and by deceptive understatement. For instance: "As a law student Betancourt helped lead an uprising known as 'The Week Of The Students.' He celebrated his 20th birthday in a Gomez dungeon with 60 pounds of irons fastened to his ankles. Later he was exiled." Completely omitted from this breezy and tear-jerking sob story are the following facts. Romulo Betancourt had joined the first Communist cell in Caracas when it was founded in 1925. This was six years before the Communist Party of Venezuela was officially organized. Romulo was seventeen years old at the time. For the next three years he worked with other Communist students in organizing strikes and demonstrations against the government. In 1928, because of his continuous revolutionary activities, he was jailed for two months and then exiled. This was certainly brutal treatment for a young man guilty of nothing more than trying unceasingly for three years to overthrow the government by force. Even if those chains weighed only fifty-nine pounds.

Please note that in Mr. Velie's account of these revolutionary three years there is no suggestion that Betancourt had already become a hard-core Communist, working closely with Gustavo Machado and other young Communists. But in the next paragraph Mr. Velie tells how Betancourt, after devouring books on history and economics, "like some other youths of the period"—"turned briefly to Communism." And then follows this astonishing statement: "But within three years Betancourt learned that the Kremlin had no solutions for Latin America." Mr. Velie does not say *which* three years, or from *when* this

period of vast enlightenment was to be measured. But it hardly matters. For after Betancourt's three years of Communist activity in Caracas, when exiled in 1928 he went to Costa Rica, and immediately plunged into similar activities there. In 1930 he helped Manuel Mora Valverde (who is Betancourt's brother-in-law) found the Communist Party of Costa Rica. And Betancourt does not even *claim* to have left the Communist Party of Costa Rica until 1935.

The rest of the article is equally absurd, as either history or character analysis. There is not even a mention of Betancourt's huge book, *Venezuela: Politics and Oil*, written in Mexico in the mid 1950's, which so increased Betancourt's prestige among Communist leaders all over Latin America; and hence no mention of the fact that the material for the mammoth volume was supplied him by an official Communist research bureau in Mexico, or that the book was brought out by a Communist publishing firm. But for far more detailed information concerning Betancourt's unbroken Communist activities and associations, both before and after he returned to Venezuela the last time early in 1958, we must simply refer you to our long article in the April, 1960 issue of this magazine, from which we have been largely quoting. There you will find the names, dates, and facts to show you how far Venezuela had been brought under Communist control by April, 1960 through the cunning manipulations of Romulo Betancourt. There is nothing in Mr. Velie's article to carry the slightest conviction that there has been any change in either Betancourt or Venezuela since that time, except in some superficial attitudes and pretenses for the sake of protective coloration. And we not only stand on our statement that Romulo Betancourt always has been, ever since he was seventeen years old, and still is today, a faithful and trusted Communist agent of the Kremlin, but we do not think you are even going to have to wait too long before that tragic fact becomes as obvious—and admitted—as it now is in the case of Fidel Castro. And the *Reader's Digest*, a great publication of the American free-enterprise system, and we believe an intentionally honest

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and honorable one, will have done its gullible best to make the road to permanent power easier for another Communist viceroy.

Ode to a Harvard Don

The Vital Center's Vital Center

By MORRIE RYSKIND

I give you Arthur Schlesinger,
Jehovah's Little Messenger!
(I trust the *g* is soft in Schlesy—
Or else the triple rhyme is messy.
Yet if the *g* be hard—as Harding—
That shall not stop this bard from barding:
Bless Harvard and keep blessing her:
She gave us Arthur Schlesinger!)

I speak, of course, of Arthur, Jr.,
The Vital Center's Pet Petuniar;
The Darling of the ADA'ers;
The soothingest of all soothsayers.
If Yalta rankles, he, with deft ease,
Explains it to the Liberal Lefties
So well that, in their Ivory Tower,
It's known as Franklin's Finest Hour.

Though some, misled by Fascist plots, damn
Yalta, Teheran and Potsdam—
By no such bug can I be bitten,
For I have read what Arthur's written.
I know the source: McCarthyism,
Intended to create a schism.
So I am deaf when Tory sots damn
Yalta, Teheran and Potsdam.

From Mounts Olympus and Parnassus,
Art views (through Roosevelt-colored glasses)
The antics of the lower classes,
And passes judgment for the masses.
Objective, crystal-clear, impartial,
He hands the laurel wreath to Marshall
And gives his enemies the bird.
(MacArthur is a dirty word.)

I thought MacArthur patriotic,
But now I know that was psychotic;
Thought Wedemeyer knew the score—
But now I swear by Lattimore!
The very thought of John S. Service

Would start my stomach acting nervous—
But Junior's cleared up my confusions
And washed my brain of these delusions.

MacArthur right about Korea?
Says Junior, "Perish the idea!"
And proves, by Harvard's lucid lore,
MacArthur would have brought us War.
How better far the Lovely Truce
Since Truman cut MacArthur loose!
Men might be dying in the East now—
How nice that all the fighting's ceased now!

Are you depressed by mortal ills?
Use Arthur's Little Liver Pills!
Must you arise, perforce, at night?
Let Little Arthur set you right!
Do you have spots before your eyes?
Let Little Arthur put you wise!
Does Jessup keep you from your slumber?
Call Arthur at his Cambridge number!

Let Arthur Schlesinger appease your
Misgivings on the Truman seizure;
Let him point out instead the barren
And empty workings of McCarran.
Let Arthur S. shampoo your brain
And you'll be innocent again
And ready for the Vital Center—
Where no Republican may enter.

Though some detect a Leftist Odor,
He is a Middle-of-the-Roader:
Yes, there he stands, right in the middle
Between Hank Wallace and Frank Biddle!

SO

I give you Arthur Schlesinger,
Jehovah's Little Messenger!

OR

Bless Harvard and keep blessing her:
She gave us Arthur Schlesinger!

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EUROPEAN SURVEY

by

WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM

Mailed from Zurich, March 10, 1961

THE DEADLY PROBLEM is no longer an "Algerian Algeria." The problem—for the hapless General de Gaulle, for his France, and, no less, for all of us—is now a horrendous *monstrum ingens*, the forthcoming "federation" of Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco. Consolidated into one entity, these three North-African provinces assume the size and the functions of a continuous fort that commands the shores of the Mediterranean. He who holds that strategic position has his hands at Europe's throat. And, by the very nature of things, he can't be anybody but the Soviet Government.

The Grim Reaper . . .

As always, once an historical avalanche has irretrievably started, even incidental events work against the losing side, the West. And the most important of these was the sudden death of Mohammed V, the Sultan of Morocco. Most certainly he was not "the grand leader" President Kennedy eulogized, but he did serve as a brake on the insane African turmoil—simply because no middle-aged king could do anything else in this nervous moment of "democratic" Arab inflammation.

Whether his death was fortuitous or contrived, the fact that he died, in his early fifties, after a ludicrously minor operation, is one of the cruel jokes with which history emphasizes a major lesson for sluggish pupils. Now, at the

very moment the Algerian revolution is reaching its climax, Morocco falls to the hungry wolves of the desert. For it is improbable to the point of impossibility that the new Sultan, weak and young and bewildered Hassan II, will really rule his nation. Which means that the revolutionary triumph in Algeria will rapidly engulf Morocco.

Reaps the American Fields . . .

As a matter of fact, the Soviets are already harvesting. Remember how the American press, only a short time ago, gloated over the shiny and costly military bases Sultan Mohammed V had so graciously permitted the United States to build? Remember how these bases were described as the veritable hubs of the American defense system, built right on the flanks of the Soviet Union, with our Strategic Air Command poised to maim the aggressor on a moment's warning? Well, those bases are no more. (And have you read *anything* about their surrender in the American press?)

Soviet technicians and mechanics are today working on one of the former American bases, built only a few years ago for hundreds of millions of dollars. At this very moment they are assembling twelve Soviet "Mig" fighter planes and two "Mig" trainers. These planes are a "Soviet gift" to replace a squadron of fighter planes that the French withdrew last November from Morocco to

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show their displeasure over Moroccan hospitality to the Algerian rebels. (*For an outline of the way in which American taxpayers were made to finance the construction of the world's most modern airbases for the Soviet in Morocco, see A WORLD GONE CRAZY, pages 71-73.—Editor.*)

A Double Harvest in Mauritania . . .

Nor was this the only Soviet "gift" to Morocco. Even while Mohammed V was still alive, the Soviets paralyzed his mildly conservative leanings by supporting Morocco's claim to Mauritania—while everybody else, just to please de Gaulle, voted for the admission of an independent Mauritania to the "United Nations." Ever since, the Soviets have been immensely popular with Morocco's illiterate but articulately nationalistic "masses."

The Soviet courtship reached its climax in the recent state visit of the Soviet President, Brezhnev, to King Mohammed V. He brought with him (and, of course, left behind) fifty Soviet "technicians" whose assignment is to begin the take-over of the American military bases. (Have you read about this in your newspaper?) And now that young Hassan II has inherited the many Soviet "gifts," things are popping.

A Fine Funeral . . .

In the first place, the President of Tunisia, Bourguiba, lost no time, but made use of Mohammed's funeral to stage a diplomatic *coup d'état*. On his insistence, the new Sultan of Morocco publicly and officially welcomed the leader of the Algerian rebels as a "head of state." The Sultan, Bourguiba, and the Algerian then proceeded solemnly to proclaim the forthcoming trinity of

Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco. And what made the provocation doubly unbearable was the fact that Bourguiba had come to Morocco by plane straight from his confidential talks with General de Gaulle in Rambouillet. The intended and unmistakable implication was, of course, that de Gaulle had conceded not only Algerian "independence" but the unification of the three North-African provinces.

And Another Coming Up . . .

The immediate effect of that *coup* was an impertinent statement by "The National Union of Popular Forces," Morocco's "popular front" rally of all leftwingers. Under Mohammed V they were rather cautious and remained partly underground. But Hassan, when he succeeded his father, invited "The National Union of Popular Forces" not only to attend the ceremonies of his investiture, but also to join the new government. Having thus been declared "governmental," the Communist-led "National Union" haughtily boycotted the ceremonies and rejected the king's offer of coalition. And when Bourguiba practically abolished Morocco's and King Hassan's sovereignty, Morocco's Communists immediately raised the stakes: they are now playing for *total* power in Morocco.

Their chances are excellent. When Mohammed died, everybody in Morocco seemed to assume that with him the monarchy had died. With the Soviet "technicians" operating some key positions in Moroccan economy and power supplies, the nation has been effectively penetrated at the top. And with General de Gaulle's terrifying resolution to retreat at all costs, what was left of France's fading reputation and influence in Morocco just evaporated.

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Today an alert and ambitious Moroccan simply *must* assume that the "Arab revolution" is invincible. Thus, as it always does in the "underdeveloped nations," Communism wins Morocco neither by force of arguments nor by force of arms, but simply because "underdeveloped" people want to be on the side of the winning party.

While A Barbary Pirate Sees . . .

When a final history of General de Gaulle's defeat by the Algerian rebels is written, I, for one, will not be astonished to learn that the real boss of the North-African revolution was President Habib Bourguiba. Allegedly "just a Socialist," Bourguiba has masterfully understood how to gain the confidence of the West. His son, the Tunisian Ambassador to Washington, succeeded in becoming one of John F. Kennedy's closest personal friends. One result of this intimate relation was that Kennedy consented to give that notorious speech two years ago in which he openly supported the Algerian "rebels" against France. (De Gaulle never fails to quote that speech when, shrugging his shoulders, he "explains" his last-moment defeatism: "Que voulez-vous? Cet homme est le Président des États-Unis!")

President Bourguiba's position in Tunisia was anything but stable. He had every reason to fear the Algerian rebels whom he permitted to establish military training centers in Tunisia. *Now* these centers could become the breeding places of a Tunisian rebellion—against Bourguiba. With their spectacular, triumphant victory over de Gaulle's France, the Algerian "Government-in-Exile" has been catapulted to incomparable prominence in all of North Africa. But Bourguiba, always an astute opportunist, secured his lines of com-

munication—he became the Algerians' closest fellow-conspirator. And recognizing that he could not resist the Communist whirlwind in Tunisia, he became the funnel of the tornado.

The Empire of 1962 . . .

With the typically perverted ambition of an opportunistic intellectual, Bourguiba has only one wish: that no one succeed him. He is resolved, instead, to bring about the end of Tunisian independence, won only a few years ago. Bourguiba's scheme: the unification of Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia to form a single "Maghreb Empire." And who is to stop him?

General de Gaulle, continuing his prolonged and ghastly suicide as a statesman, recently even declared that such a Maghreb Empire ("in collaboration with France," of course) might be quite desirable. (His demonstrative friendship with Habib Bourguiba has, among other things, cost France her oil wells in the Sahara: the proponents of a Maghreb Empire have solemnly filed their claims to all Saharan oil—and they will get it.) The Soviet Union is in on the ground floor: Brezhnev's visit to Morocco was meant as a solemn ceremony of adoption by the Soviets. And who else figures as a power in Africa? The United States? Don't be childish!

A year ago, nobody had heard of Lumumba. A year from now, the Maghreb Empire of Morocco, Tunisia, and Algeria will rule over the front pages of the American press—and over the Mediterranean.

Oil's Well in Europe . . .

Speaking of France's lost oil wells in the Sahara, and of the magnificently informed American press that can be so taciturn about such matters—have you

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read much in your newspaper about the flood of Soviet oil that is soon to sweep over Europe?

Your and my old friend, Signor Enrico Mattei of Rome (of whom the American press doggedly takes no notice) has now lined up the German steel producers he needs to finance and to build the pipelines from the North Italian seaports across the Alps to the industrial centers of Germany, Austria and Switzerland. Reportedly, Enrico Mattei has succeeded in signing up Berthold Beitz, the acting Director General of Krupp's. (He is the same Herr Beitz who is lobbying in Bonn for closer German relations with Communist Poland.)

Work on the huge pipelines has already started—while conspicuous silence is respectfully preserved by the American press. According to the plan of operations, some major links are scheduled to be finished by 1963—at which time Mattei will pipe Soviet oil to Central Europe for half the world-price of industrial oil. Once the industry of Central Europe (and pretty soon thereafter, of Western Europe, too) has been made to depend on Soviet oil piped through Mattei's pipelines across the Alps, the world will see a repeat-performance of Dr. Schacht's unforgettable act: how to conquer nations by "adjusting" them to cheap imports.

Thus, Soviet strategy has now a major alternative for the attack on Europe: instead of from the East, it may be executed from the South. Even better, it now will come simultaneously from *both* directions — and what a co-ordinated drive from two sides means, even Eisenhower can understand: the invasion of Nazi-held Europe succeeded only because the Allies could cut through from the West and from the

South simultaneously.

The enormous event of 1960-61 is the securing of a Southern Soviet front against Europe—from Africa across the Mediterranean, and from Italy across the Alps. For the latter drive (what a joke!) the Soviets have enlisted, through Enrico Mattei, the co-operation of Germany's steel kings.

The Sovietization of North Africa is supplying Moscow with immense potentialities of effective threat: Soviet missile bases along the whole North-African shoreline will be incomparably more of a nightmare to Europe's statesmen than any number of Soviet divisions stationed in Eastern Europe.

Unless the United States manages to switch the military balance of power within a year or two, the Soviets have reasonable hopes that Western Europe will collapse under the sheer weight of a military threat poised against Europe from East and South. And this pressure, now that Signor Mattei's pipelines are creeping into Central Europe, is made complete by an enormous economic incentive—cheap Soviet oil pouring into Western Europe.

But At Last We Know . . .

And as long as the subject is strategy, we may just as well report, at this point, some very pertinent statements British Field-Marshal Alexander has just sent to press. In an advance publication of a section of his memoirs in the *Sunday Times* of London, the Field-Marshal solves the riddle of the age: Who was responsible for the decision to let the Soviets occupy Berlin?

"This key question of Berlin," says Alexander, "which is still unresolved, was never formally discussed by the United States and British Chiefs of Staff — the Combined Chiefs. In fact,

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the only political directive Ike received came from the new President of the United States, Mr. Harry Truman, who merely instructed him to make a military decision in the field *on whether or not to occupy Berlin.*"

Who Did It . . .

Thus, the decision *not* to take Berlin, but to let the Soviets take it, was *Eisenhower's personal decision!* That is now established by the highest British source. Nobody *told* General Eisenhower. He did *not* "merely obey orders." He *himself* decided, on his *own* responsibility, to let the Soviets pocket the greatest prize of the European campaign—and secure, at the same time, the center of inflammation for the succeeding Cold War.

Berlin is at the Soviets' mercy solely because of Dwight D. Eisenhower. Thanks to Field-Marshal Alexander, the truth is out at last.

For the moment (and this moment is passing rapidly), Berlin does not seem to be the target of the immediate Soviet barrage. The reason is obvious: Khrushchev hopes the new American Administration will be more pliable in the Congo, in Laos, and at the forthcoming "disarmament" talks, if he spares Kennedy the embarrassment of yielding, at the same time, in Berlin too.

In fact (as I indicated in my previous "European Survey"), it is altogether possible that the Soviets have revamped their time-table and now intend to force a showdown in France and Italy even before they tackle West Germany. The prospects for a successful "dénouement" in the Latin countries have become formidable—while, at least as long as Adenauer reigns in West Germany, the Germans have con-

siderable staying power.

We Back a Trojan Horse . . .

And there is another reason why the Soviets, at the moment, are keeping quiet about Berlin. There is still a chance that Willy Brandt (i.e., Herbert Wehner, Germany's Tito, who stands behind him) may get himself elected Chancellor next September. In that event, the Soviet drive on Berlin becomes a cinch. Anyhow, this chance is good enough to justify a few month's patience—particularly as the Kennedy Administration has already been showing—incredibly—a marked preference for Willy Brandt.

Kennedy's special roving ambassador, Mr. Harriman, on his flying visit to Bonn, astonished the entire press corps with especially friendly remarks about the Socialist candidate for the German Chancellorship—a rare display of bad diplomatic taste, as Mr. Harriman, at that point, was Adenauer's guest. And to exclude all possible doubts, Harriman stopped on his flight to Rome for a few hours in Berlin—merely to deliver "a special message" from President Kennedy to Willy Brandt.

There was no earthly reason for such a message. In the first place, the President of the United States has no business to carry on diplomatic relations with a mere mayor of a European town. Secondly, Willy Brandt was practically on his way to the United States, anyway, where Kennedy had already graciously assured him of a special welcome to the White House. All this at a time when the election campaign has started full blast in Germany and when every foreign statesman would normally refrain from any gesture that could possibly be misconstrued as support for the official opponent of a friendly govern-

ment!

No, the blunders of the Kennedy Administration in diplomacy and tact are too frequent and too massive to permit the assumption that they are mere blunders. The Administration, it seems, has made up its mind to give Willy Brandt its formal backing.

Limping To The Starting Post . . .

Fortunately, the Administration is betting on a losing horse. Contrary to reports in the American press, Willy Brandt's popularity in Germany is dropping rapidly. At the latest public poll, Adenauer got fifty-six percent of the "decided" vote, Brandt, thirty-eight percent. All experts agree that the ground swell in Germany is running against the Socialists.

It may turn out to have been a fatal mistake of the German Social Democrats to present Willy Brandt much too early. By giving the German electorate a whole year to assess the man, take his measure, and read up on the wild revolutionary writings of his recent past, the Social Democrats gave themselves too much rope. It is getting ever tighter around Willy Brandt's neck. Which makes the State Department's flirtation with him doubly pernicious: The United States seem to be betting, not only on the *wrong* horse, but also on the *loser*. But then, that's an old State-Department habit.

But Planned Demoralization . . .

However, Willy Brandt's misadventures in West Germany by no means prove that there is easy sailing ahead for Dr. Adenauer. On the contrary, what goes in West Germany for "public opinion"—the metropolitan press, chiefly—was never more confused and less fool-proof. The most alarming symptom:

a flare-up of indubitably "directed" appeals to the "United Nations" to take over the administration of Berlin!

Readers of this department will recall that on many a previous occasion I had to discuss the perfidy of this scheme because, throughout the last two years, there were recurring traces of a secret operation which aimed at selling it to the State Department. The argument was to run thus: Whereas the United States cannot recognize the Ulbricht régime without losing face, and whereas not to recognize it might mean a fight to save Berlin, the "peaceful" and face-saving solution is for the "United Nations" to assume responsibility for Berlin, for, in that case, the "United Nations" (and not Washington) will be dealing with the Ulbricht régime. Until recently, this brazen idea of surrender was advanced in all possible places, but *never* in West Germany. Now, for the first time, a "respectable" paper, *Die Zeit*, whose publisher is a member of the *Bundestag* and of Adenauer's own party, came out openly with that incredible proposal!

In all truth, Brandt's difficulties with the German electorate have, unfortunately, little to do with German anti-Communist firmness. There was always in West Germany a strong undercurrent of "neutralism" and of a coy readiness to "negotiate" with the East. The general European confusion brought about by the first few weeks of the Kennedy Administration has only increased that trend. And that confusion is nowhere as fatal as in West Germany.

Has Paralyzed Our Friends . . .

Only last year the Adenauer government finally achieved its greatest triumph and vindication: after a decade of vicious fighting, the Social-Demo-

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cratic opposition was compelled to embrace Adenauer's policy of atomic armament. By bravely advocating the need for atomic strength, Adenauer had risked his political life. One had to live in Germany in 1957 and 1958 to realize what courage it took to support the atomic armament of NATO and, therefore, of West Germany.

In 1960, as I said, the battle for the German mind was won; and even Willy Brandt's party had to approve of atomic weapons for NATO. But at this very moment Kennedy became President. And the first impact of the new Administration on European affairs was Kennedy's announced "reevaluation" of General Norstadt's official policy—namely, that NATO must receive from the United States atomic missiles.

The results of this "reevaluation" in West Germany are a sudden revival of all the "neutralist" sentiments that, only a year ago, seemed dead. And who could seriously reproach the Germans for taking a second look at their commitments? Necessary as the "conventional" rearmament of West Germany was and remains, it is entirely meaningless if NATO, the over-all defense authority for Western Europe, has no access to the *decisive* atomic weapons. To deny NATO these weapons is tantamount to inviting a Soviet attack.

And Now It's Up To You.

Six weeks after Kennedy's inauguration, NATO finds itself in a veritable panic. Paul-Henry Spaak renounced his position as Secretary General, not to immerse himself in Belgian politics, but because that clever man saw no future in his job. General Norstadt, bewildered and unhappy, reportedly behaves like a melancholy misanthrope: the once affable and extremely effective Chief of NATO now refuses to see anybody. What, indeed, could *he* tell a visitor? I, however, not being General Norstadt, can tell you the score: NATO is having its throat cut to create a "conducive atmosphere" for Kennedy's forthcoming "Summit" with Khrushchev. And *you* had better start doing something at home about it!

This time, Europe is in no position to spoil the Soviet's fun. Last year, Adenauer and de Gaulle compelled Eisenhower to call off the Camp-David flirtation. This year, poor de Gaulle is in a suicidal mood and Adenauer wants to win a difficult election. He is not going to save Kennedy from the shame of the appeasement. Unless the American people stop Kennedy in time, we are in for it, I am afraid.

WHY?

The Hungarian Revolution broke out on October 23, 1956. By October 28 the Hungarian patriots were in control. A revolutionary regime took over and there was a political hiatus for five days. Then our State Department, allegedly concerned about the delicate feelings of the Communist dictator Tito, sent him the following cablegram, late in the afternoon of Friday, November 2: "The Government of the United States does not look with favor upon governments unfriendly to the Soviet Union on the borders of the Soviet Union."

Given this clear "go-ahead" signal, the Soviets began their new attack, to demolish the revolutionary regime, very early in the morning of November 4. And the tragic fate of the Hungarian patriots was already sealed.

The above material was taken from a speech by the Hon. Michael A. Feighan

BULLETS

For even when we were with you,
this we commanded you, that if any
would not work, neither should he eat.

*St. Paul, Second Epistle To
The Thessalonians, III, 10.*

I would rather have my people laugh
at my economies than weep for my extravagance.

*King Oscar II of Sweden
(In the Nineteenth Century, Of Course)*

The only safe toast today: "Here's to
all the world — for fear some darn fool
may take offense."

A Drake Collection

The hurrier I go, the behinder I get.
*Sign In The Roy Rainwater Jewelry
Store, Sapulpa, Oklahoma*

I went on a diet — swore off drinking
and heavy eating. In fourteen days
I lost almost two weeks.

Joe E. Lewis

You will meet a beautiful woman,
you will give her money — she is our
cashier.

Found In A Fortune Cookie

Virus: a word originated by someone
who couldn't spell pneumonia.

Digest Of World Reading

The inscription I want for my tomb-
stone: "I'd rather be here than in Rus-
sia."

*Tom Anderson
(On Return From Russia)*

"We are at war, we have been in-
vaded, we are losing."

J. Edgar Hoover

Private property and individual lib-
erty are inseparable.

Barry Goldwater

We do not have a private-enterprise
system any longer; we just talk that
way.

T. Coleman Andrews

He who goes forth with a fifth on
the Fourth may not come forth on the
fifth.

Hal Boyle

According to latest reports from a
ritz Los Angeles suburb, there are so
many foreign cars in the neighborhood
that it has been over two years since
anyone was hit above the knees.

Reformatory Pillar

Nikita Khrushchev was very flattered
at going to the luncheon at 20th Cen-
tury Fox. He thought the studio was
named after him.

Bob Hope

A farmer in Maryland sold all his
ewes just to give his ramification.

Anonymous—Thank Goodness

Don't lie on the pool table, grand-
mother. You're wearing off the green.

A Relic Of St. Patrick's Day

Means may often be determined scien-
tifically, ends never can be.

Revalo P. Oliver

America must not die in her sleep.
It is time to sound reveille.

W. D. Workman

A fool may be known by six things:
anger, without cause; speech, without
profit; change, without progress; in-
quiry, without object; putting trust in
a stranger; and mistaking foes for
friends.

Arabian Proverb

A REVIEW OF REVIEWS

by

REVILO P. OLIVER

ABOUT DEMOCRACIES AND REPUBLICS

THE DISTINCTION between a DEMOCRACY and a REPUBLIC, clearly drawn by the editor of this magazine in the January issue, is so fundamental to an understanding of politics that I devote these columns to extend comment on some current books that will shed light on the origin of these institutions and of the differences between them.

The books we shall discuss are all of a kind not likely to be found in your corner bookstore. One of them, by the way, is the work of one of the great scholars of our time, Professor James H. Oliver, with whom I unfortunately can claim no relationship, so far as I know, other than a common interest in the Classics.

I

CONSERVATIVES believe in the freedom and responsibility of the individual. This, more than anything else, sharply differentiates them from our self-styled "Liberals," who all think in terms of totalitarian ant-hills, whether or not they are consciously agents of the International Communist Conspiracy.

The potential dignity and worth of the individual, and the consequent need for a political system that permits the potentiality to be realized, are so self-evident to the conservative that he usually takes them for granted, forgetting that they are concepts that were

novel when they first appeared in human history, and that throughout history, including the present, these concepts have been alien and unintelligible to the majority of the dwellers on this planet.

That is why institutions of self-government, whether democratic or republican, appear in only one cultural tradition, that of the West, which runs unbroken from Homer to the present day. There have been other cultures, and at least four of them, the Egyptian, Indian, Chinese, and Islamic, were undoubtedly high civilizations by every test from architecture to literature. These four together with Graeco-Roman antiquity and the modern West form the six paradigms from which Spengler deduces his cyclic theory of history.

Each of Spengler's six civilizations undoubtedly shows in its development remarkable analogies and valid parallels to the others—in each, for example, we find a period that may fairly be described as feudal and another that is certainly megalopolitan. There is even a remarkable coincidence in the appearance in each culture and subsequent disappearance of religious skepticism. But government by or through elected magistrates appears only in the Graeco-Roman world and the modern West, so that Spengler, to maintain his doctrine

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of complete parallelism, has to regard elections and all democratic or republican institutions as secondary and incidental phenomena—mere superficialities as unimportant as styles of dress.

In Egypt, China, and Islam the historical record shows clearly that no one ever seriously thought that government might be something other than the autocratic will of a despot who was either the son or the vice-regent of God. The early history of India is obscure and even enigmatic, but *if* there ever were states (other than Greek colonies) that attained a measure of self-government, they were Aryan states that antedated the spread of Buddhism and had been forgotten by the third century B.C. The question is too intricate and speculative to be discussed here. (Perhaps I should add that years ago, in the commentary to my translation of the *Mrcchakatikâ*, I made passing mention of "republics" in India at the time the Buddha was born, using the word very loosely as a convenient designation for several small states that were neither democracies nor monarchies, although the vague references in our Sanskrit and Pali sources do not indicate just how they were governed.)

One has only to read the literature of other cultures to see that the concepts of government that we take for granted never occurred to people living in these cultures. What is even more significant, those concepts, when introduced from outside sources, were essentially unintelligible to even the best minds. A good illustration is provided by a book that has just come from the press, Dr. D. M. Dunlop's excellent edition of the *Fusûl al-Madani* of Al-Fârâbî (Cambridge University Press, New York; 208 pages, \$12.00).

Al-Fârâbî, who was the real founder

of political philosophy in Arabic culture, lived in the Tenth Century and was one of the leaders in the intense intellectual activity that was excited by access to Greek literature, and was later extinguished by a revival of Islamic orthodoxy. He had an intimate knowledge of Greek political thought, including the history of democracy and theoretical attempts to overcome its defects. His analysis of the human mind and soul and his discussion of human virtues are taken from Plato and Aristotle. But Greek political thought found so little response in his mind that democracy, oligarchy, and the like do not appear, even as theoretical possibilities, in his catalogue of forms of government.

Al-Fârâbî believes that perfect government is rule by a despot who is wise, prudent, eloquent, able to capture men's imaginations, and able to lead in person a Holy War against Christians and other Unbelievers. (The last is a political idea, for Al-Fârâbî's religion is scarcely more than nominal.) He can also envisage rule by a council of four or five men who share the administration between them, and, of course, he knows that actual rulers may not have all the virtues that he thinks desirable. Kings of inferior character may be checked by religion, but a wise despot is above even such considerations: he is "to rule as he thinks right and *as he wishes*." That, of course, is the unmitigated absolutism of the Moslem Empire.

Al-Fârâbî was well aware of the monstrous excesses of the Caliphs, but they suggested to his mind only the despairing comment, "It is wrong for a virtuous man to remain in a corrupted state, and he must emigrate to ideal cities, if such exist in his time. If they do not exist, then the virtuous man is a

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wretched alien in the world of reality, and it is better for him to die than to live." Al-Fârâbî, by the way, did not commit suicide: he was killed by brigands while on a journey to Ascalon.

That was a *typical* example. Nothing can be more certain than that, taking the world as a whole, the capacity for free institutions is, like blond hair (though for quite different reasons), native only to a minority. The old American illusion that republican institutions are something like aspirin, which can be exported to any part of the world and counted on to relieve headaches everywhere, is as silly as the act of the Washington bureaucrats who, during the Second World War, rushed plane-loads of the finest woolen blankets to Trinidad for free distribution to the natives.

It should be noted that, with the exception of a few high-minded gentlemen, such as Syngman Rhee and Chiang Kai-shek (who, be it noted, are Christians), Oriental leaders now use elections and other Western paraphernalia merely as weapons to gain power for themselves (or their Communist backers) and as pretexts to pump money from the American treasury. Among savages, the whole process becomes an open farce that reminds one of the Ntambwe Bwanga, a secret society in the Congo that tried to steal the white man's magic by stealing his clothes. Until the United States State Department did the work for them, these doughty warriors held ceremonies in which half of them, dressed in tails and white tie (with or without shirt and trousers), gave their arms to the other half, dressed in evening gowns, and led them in to a dinner complete with after-dinner speeches which were a meaningless farrago of phrases that

servants had overheard at dinner-parties given by Belgian administrators.

Perhaps, instead of trying to export American institutions to the rest of the world, we should try to recover them for ourselves.

II

WHEN WE ASK how the concept of political freedom came into being in the culture of the West, we find ourselves confronted by the only really obscure period in the history of Greece. But the problem has now been greatly clarified by James H. Oliver's *DEMOKRATIA, THE GODS AND THE FREE WORLD* (Johns Hopkins, Baltimore; 194 pages, 4 plates, \$5.00). One of the few books of our day written in the great tradition of Classical scholarship, it is at once thorough and concise, judicious and lucid, erudite and eminently readable. It presupposes in the reader, however, about as much knowledge of the ancient world as the average college student possessed a generation or two ago when our colleges were educational institutions.

The origin of government by elected magistrates has, of course, been studied before. Part of Professor Oliver's advance over his predecessors is made by emendation and explication of the scanty texts, both literary and epigraphical, that are our principal source of information, but his major contribution is the perception that in Greek history basic political changes were co-ordinate with religious changes. This is one of the scholarly insights that we recognize as brilliant precisely because, when once stated, they seem so obvious that the marvel is that they were not obvious before.

The fundamentally rational Greek mind recognized as gods the forces that govern men. (No one, for example,

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could doubt the existence and the divinity of Aphrodite so long as sexual attraction and love were observable phenomena.) The transfer of power from king to people implied the recognition of a new force in society, and therefore of a new aspect of the gods of the city. This, in turn, called for a new sanctuary and new rites. The religious record, therefore, both supplements and elucidates the fragmentary political record.

In thus tracing the origin of self-government, Professor Oliver incidentally solves what has long been an historical puzzle: how and why the Achaeans, Dorians, Ionians, and other peoples whom *we* call Greeks came to call themselves *Hellenes*, thereby adopting as their collective name the name of a small sub-group of Achaeans—which is as remarkable as though the peoples of the United States, Canada, England, and Australia had somehow come to call themselves Philadelphians.

When, in each of the small independent political units, the power of the king was superseded by *demokratia* (the power of a *demos* which seems originally to have been composed of the free landholders), the gods, principally Zeus and Athena, who had stood back of the king, became the tutelary gods of the new community of civically organized free men, but necessarily under new aspects. They were now venerated as Zeus Hellenios and Athena Hellenia, presumably because the social force they represented had first appeared in the small community of the Hellenes, who had naturally given their own name to the unique institutions they had devised for themselves. Zeus and Athena in their new aspect were also called *theoi eleutherioi* ('gods of

freedom'), but that epithet was less clear politically, since an *eleutheros* was primarily a free man as opposed to a slave, thus indicating a difference of status that was, of course, observed in all states, including kingdoms and tyrannies.

The distinctive mark, therefore, of peoples who governed themselves was that they recognized the *theoi Hellenioi*. And since all the Greek peoples quickly came to regard their civic institutions as the achievement that, more than anything else, differentiated them, people born to be free, from the barbarians, who lived in subjection to the arbitrary power of despots, they all came naturally to identify themselves as the people of the *theoi Hellenioi*. Hence came the concept of Hellas, the land of those gods. It is not a geographical term (since it included parts of Asia Minor, Sicily, and Italy as well as Greece); it designates the Free World as opposed to the masses of men who were content to live as sheep under a (good or bad) shepherd.

III

BY INVENTING DEMOCRACY — government in which decisions are made and laws are enacted by a majority of the voters—the Greeks did solve (temporarily, as events eventually proved) one political problem. The citizens were freemen subject only to written laws which a majority of voters (at first the landowners, but later, in some states, all citizens) had approved. The individual was thus protected against the arbitrary acts of another individual or of a group of persons more powerful than he by virtue of wealth or inherited authority. But the problem that the Greeks at first overlooked (as was natural) and never

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did solve was that of protecting the individual—and the state itself—against a numerical majority.

There were many Greek states and many plans of government put into practice. Aristotle collected 158 'constitutions' in the great work of which only the section on Athens (first printed in 1891) has survived to our time. But we rightly think of Greek government as represented by the two great states that were also virtually the extremes in the political spectrum.

Sparta (which some Greek writers described as a *demokratia* because its citizens *were* equal before the law) avoided the inherent vice of democracy and attained a stability that made her the marvel of the Greek world, but only at the cost of imposing on all her citizens an iron discipline and a totalitarian uniformity (including in theory economic equality) that simply crushed the individual.

Athens, extending the franchise to all males who were not slaves or foreigners, attained pure democracy, with all its vices. The state was whatever the majority of the moment chose to make it. The joke of Aristophanes' *Ecclesiazusae*, one of the world's greatest and funniest comedies, depends on the fact that there really was nothing to prevent the male citizens of Athens from attending the assembly one morning and, by a majority vote, disenfranchizing all men and turning the government over to women exclusively. It is true that the Athenian assembly did not actually do that, but, as Aristophanes remarks, that was about the only act of folly that it had *not* committed by his time. Democracy ruined Athens—of that there can be no question.

The Greeks, including the Athenians,

knew this, and political theory, as may be seen in Aristotle, Plato, and many other sources, sought means of protecting the state against numerical majorities. In practice, however, about all that the states were able to do was experiment with limitations of franchise. This was, of course, a very important point, and we must regret that the most sound and reasonable of all these, the government of the Five Thousand in Athens, was established in a time of extreme crisis and never had an opportunity to do more than begin its work.

IV

THE ROMANS, who watched the turmoil of the Greek cities and tried to learn from their history, sought to solve the problem by means of a constitution which was, like the English constitution, a body of accumulated precedents and traditions, rather than a written document comparable to the American Constitution. The Romans sought, and for a considerable time attained, stability by a system of checks and balances which not only used one branch of government to limit another, but also, by a complicated system of voting, maintained in equilibrium conflicting interests within the state.

How novel and impressive this achievement was to the Greek mind is shown by the admiring description of it in the sixth book of Polybius—which, by the way, became, directly and through Montesquieu, the most important single source of the Constitution of the United States.

The Romans called government *res publica* ('public affairs'), but since they contrasted their government with *regnum*, rule by one man, the phrase early came to mean something like 'constitu-

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tional government.' In the time of Augustus *respublica* came to have for Romans, in addition to its wider meanings, the specific meaning of *the Republic*—the system of checks and balances designed to prevent demagogues from making themselves tyrants by swaying a numerical majority of voters—which they had by that time lost in fact, although Augustus tried to pretend otherwise.

As the framers of our Constitution were keenly aware, the Roman Republic that Polybius so much admired failed to maintain its balance and stability. Why it did, is clearly and succinctly shown in an admirable little book, first published in 1955, that may be recommended to every serious student of politics, R. E. Smith's *THE FAILURE OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC* (Cambridge University Press, New York; 206 pages, \$4.75).

The Roman Republic was not overthrown: it disintegrated constitutionally. It disintegrated because the constitutional safeguards against democracy were broken, twisted, or circumvented by a series of demagogues, from Tiberius Gracchus to Julius Caesar, who sought personal power by exciting numerical majorities with promises of economic benefits and by using legislative bribes to buy acquiescence from other segments of the community, particularly short-sighted business men.

The progress of decay may be traced in the pages of Professor Smith's book. Roman society and government differed markedly from our own, but the fundamental political forces were the same.

One cause of the Roman failure was, as our forefathers perceived, reliance on an amorphous body of precedents and traditions, any one of which could be

challenged or reinterpreted in the absence of a single document containing a coherent statement of the whole governmental system and the precise function of each of its parts.

There was, however, an even more fundamental cause—the willingness of a large number of Romans to tolerate distortion or violation of the constitution for the ostensible purpose of effecting reforms in a hurry. It did not matter whether the reforms were what most of them actually were, legal masks for the greed of a pressure-group or class, or were, as in some cases, really desirable changes. The *ultimate* result of every evasion or infringement of the constitution was an overwhelming loss, even in terms of money, for the class or group that profited most from the measure. The really tragic thing, however, was that even the most desirable change, when effected by mobilizing an emotional majority or by abusing office to cut through a constitutional check, was exactly like cutting through the main beam of a house to install a warm-air duct; the work has to be undone if the whole structure is not eventually to collapse. Too few Romans understood that simple fact of political architecture.

Our founding fathers, who had deeply meditated the Roman failure, well knew that no constitution, written or unwritten, can protect itself—it must be protected by the eternal vigilance of a people that knows the price of liberty. Our forefathers may not have foreseen the specific situation in which industrial workers obtain unconstitutional privileges for themselves at the expense of farmers (and everybody else) while farmers obtain unconstitutional privileges for themselves at the expense of the industrial workers (and everybody

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else), so that each group really loses much more than it gains, but they did foresee that the new nation would be exposed to the insidious and deadly forces that had destroyed the Roman Republic.

The founding fathers did their best to protect the new nation by making it a federation of sovereign states to prevent centralization, by writing into the Constitution such devices as the electoral college to exclude democracy, and, above all, by drastically limiting the power of government itself, to avert its extension into areas in which mass bribery would be inevitable. They supplemented the Constitution with a hundred personal admonitions, such as Washington's solemn warning "against the baneful effects of the spirit of party," and Franklin's grim report that the Convention had given us a republic, *if we could keep it*.

They did their best. But they knew that each generation must defend itself and its inheritance. They could only hope that the beneficiaries of the Constitution would be intelligent enough to realize that drastic limitation of government *is* freedom—and would be honest enough not to try to make a fast buck by selling some part of a freedom that is not theirs to sell because it belongs to *all* Americans—not to a momentary, impulsive, and probably deluded majority.

They strengthened this hope by reflecting that the Americans would have an advantage that the Romans did not enjoy: they could learn from that terrible lesson of history, the failure of the Roman Republic.

V

DEMOCRACY has been often tried and

always found wanting. So long as it remains democracy in the strict sense of the word, it may become chronically foolish; when, by sophistic reinterpretation, it ceases to be a government in which day-to-day decisions are actually made by a majority of citizens assembled to vote directly on the measures brought before them, it inevitably destroys itself.

After the last constitutional safeguard against democracy was broken during the first consulship of Caesar, the Roman Republic perished in a series of civil wars that left Augustus the master of the world. His régime, though artfully disguised in legal fictions, was in fact a dictatorship and quickly became, in the hands of his less adroit successors, naked tyranny. Yet this was, in the eyes of contemporaries, democracy.

For a clear illustration, we may return to the book of Professor Oliver, who has again seen the significance of what his predecessors overlooked. One of the most admired works of Roman art in the *gemma Augustea*, cut about 7 B.C., which presents, with carefully worked-out symbolism, the picture of the new régime that Augustus wished men to have in their minds. The most remarkable detail is this: Augustus, the new monarch, sitting far above the world of men in a pose that suggests Zeus on Olympus, is having a crown placed on his head by an allegorical figure who is none other than Democracy herself.

The idea, of course, is that Augustus is made master by the "will of the people"—he has a "mandate" to rule. The disconcerting thing is that this propaganda is not a mere lie; it is highly probable that, had a plebiscite been held, the Roman world, weary of turmoil and

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drained of its best blood by the civil wars, would have returned an impressive majority for Augustus. But it is also obvious that democracy had come the full circle from government by a majority of assembled citizens to government in which decisions are made by one man—which was, of course, precisely what democracy had been devised to prevent.

The paradox persisted, fostered, in part, by verbal slippage in Greek and Latin of which you will find a concise account in Professor Oliver's commentary to his edition of the twenty-sixth ("Roman") oration of Aelius Aristides (American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, 1953). Aelius, who was one of the most intelligent men of the Second Century and who knew full well what the Roman Empire had become in the hands of such monsters as Caligula and Nero, could frankly admit that it was rule by one "best" man and yet, in the very same breath, claim that it was a "democracy of the whole world (*koiné tēs gēs démokratia*)—because its inhabitants had (approximately) equal civil rights!

Anyone who wishes to look can multiply examples. Fronto, who was a very learned man and the teacher of Marcus Aurelius, described the Rome of his day in the very words that a Roman of Scipio's time would have used to characterize a pure democracy as distinguished from his own Republic: "the common people are masters and control everything" (*ubique . . . populus dominatur et praepollet*). Yet when Fronto wrote that letter to his imperial pupil, he was aware that, if Marcus Aurelius had not happened to be personally one of the most conscientious men who ever lived, the letter, had it displeased in

any way, might have been answered with a centurion who would have simply cut Fronto's throat without more ado. Fronto knew perfectly well that (so long as the army did not revolt) Marcus Aurelius had the power to do what several of his predecessors had done, and what his own son was to do after him on an even grander scale—become an incredibly debauched and blood-stained beast who murdered everyone by whom he was in any way displeased, and then went on murdering—sometimes with his own hands—thousands of people of whom he had never heard for the sheer joy of causing death.

But Fronto, had his statement been challenged, would doubtless have replied that this was democracy because a majority of the people *wanted* to be ruled by an Indispensable Man with virtually unlimited power. And Fronto would have been right, for a majority of the inhabitants of the Roman Empire, having no relation of blood or spirit to the men of the Republic, simply did not care whose throat was cut, so long as it was not their own.

Democracy always ends in that paradox, from which there is no escape. A recent example, of course, was Adolf Hitler, who (unlike Franklin Roosevelt) made no secret of his intentions, but rose to power by an ever increasing influence over the electorate, and was confirmed in power by a simply overwhelming majority. Strangely enough, however, our "Liberals," who are forever prating about the beauties of the kind of democracy that sends paratroopers into Little Rock to manhandle Americans, do not approve of Adolf. You have only to ask one of them why majority-rule was not all right in Ger-

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many—and watch the poor fellow sweat and squirm as he tries to explain why “Liberals” have a right to have everything both ways at the same time.

VI

WHEN MEN are not masters of the words they use, they are mastered by them.

When we call the United States a democracy, we are, consciously or unconsciously, lending support to an attempt to repeal our Constitution surreptitiously by claiming that a numerical majority has a right to do whatever is its whim at a given moment. *Republic* is the best available word to designate a government in which a constitution limits the power of government to certain prescribed areas and to certain fixed procedures.

Our confusion arose partly because a segment of the original Republican Party called itself Democratic to mark its support of such things as elective judiciaries and *local* self-government, as well as states' rights: like Whigs and Tories, they accepted a name originally bestowed in derision by their opponents.

But the confusion had another and more important source in looseness of language. For example, Calhoun, who most eloquently warned his contemporaries of the danger of majorities created by “the cohesive power of public plunder,” quite properly defined our republic as a “*constitutional* democracy,” meaning, of course, that it was a government in which the powers of a majority were strictly limited, just as England was a “*constitutional* monarchy” in which the powers of the king were strictly limited. But it was so easy to leave off the adjective!

The United States is still legally a republic—and we had better make sure that it is one in fact. If that is impossible, then we have nothing to look forward to but a Caesar, and nothing to work for but the hope that he may be as decent a man as can attain power in the circumstances, sparing us in our lifetimes, while we resign our posterity to the degradation and extinction that must, sooner or later, be their lot.

That the many “Liberals” who are not members of a conspiracy and sincerely do not want a dictatorship of any kind do not see this, is one of the pathetic marvels of our time. But we live in an age on which a formally educated man can use such phrases as “will of the people” and “economic democracy” without clearly knowing what they mean. And we must not overlook the “Liberal’s” fascination with perpetual change as an end in itself. Having never grasped the fundamentals of history, the poor fellow does not even know what is new. Like the monkey on the merry-go-round, thrilled by the noise and delighted by the constantly shifting scene before his eyes, he never realizes that he is just going around in a circle.

BRIEF MENTION

Communism and the Church, by Ralph Lord Roy. Harcourt, Brace. \$7.50.

Another bucket of sludge thrown at the public on behalf of the National Council of Churches. To the great amount of evidence collected by Major Edgar C. Bundy in his thoroughly documented *Collectivism in the Churches* (Devin-Adair, \$5.00), Mr. Roy can oppose only blanket denials and an assertion that the more notorious members of the Council are promoting “social advance,” not Communism. But al-

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though Mr. Roy possesses a high degree of skill in the misuse of words, he is not clever enough to prevent a discerning reader from seeing just what he means by "social advance." And in this hour of peril, Americans are no longer willing to waste time in debating the distinction between a small frankfurter and a large wiener.

* * *

The Soviet Deportation of Nationalities, by R. Conquest. London: Macmillan. £1 10/-.

This is a factual account of the long series of drastic measures by which the Kremlin has herded ethnic minorities into the places in which it wants them—usually a pasture in which one can be sure that the herd will die out. These facts might embarrass the International Communist Conspiracy in its current promotion of racial war, and so the American press has been obligingly silent.

* * *

Russia, America, and the World, by Louis Fischer. Harper. \$4.50.

The author is evidently a "Liberal" who is beginning to sober up. He has awakened to the grim fact that the Communists intend to butcher us, and he sees that their most important weapons are the words that they use "to attack and paralyze the brain." But he still sees such attractive pink elephants as the notion that Russia and Red China will soon be at one another's throats, and the fantasy that we can buy

friends, if only we pay them enough. Really significant—considering the author's contacts with "Liberals" exalted in Washington—is the confident statement that at Camp David in 1959 Eisenhower and Khrushchev conspired to hand Berlin to the Soviet in a glorious sell-out at the forthcoming "Summit Conference." Adenauer and de Gaulle found out about it and announced that they would be intransigent. So the plan had to be abandoned, and Khrushchev had to try to give a convincing performance in the role of international clown.

* * *

The Smut Peddlers, by James Jackson Kilpatrick. Doubleday. \$4.50.

A largely factual account of the vast amount of pornography that is purveyed to adolescents in this country through the mails, and of our legal resources for coping with a grave social infection, the extent of which exceeds the wildest surmise of most Americans. Mr. Kilpatrick's suggestions illuminate the dilemma in which our subverted society now finds itself. Only in a nation in which sanity has been paralyzed would one find *Lady Chatterley's Lover* available at almost any newsstand to any child that can read, while a number of public libraries, under the pressure of Communist-fronts, have destroyed their copies of *Huckleberry Finn* on the grounds that it shows "racial bias" and is therefore "immoral and sacrilegious."

Them's Our Sentiments, Too

Internal Revenue reports having received one message with which we agree so heartily that we offer it verbatim: "I have to refer to the attached form . . . I regret to state I am unable to complete the form as I do not know what is meant by filling this form. Moreover I am not interested in this income service. Could you please cancel out my name on your books as this system has upset my mind and I do not know who registered me as one of your customers."

A REVIEW OF THE NEWS

This is a magazine of opinion. But opinion should be based on facts. Here are the facts for

JANUARY, 1961

Sunday, January 1

→ The United Nations Security Council agrees to a meeting on Wednesday when Cuban charges of United States planned military aggression against Cuba will be heard.

→ *Radio Budapest* reports that Communist Hungary has granted a credit of fifteen million dollars to Communist Cuba, in order that the Castro régime may purchase communication equipment in Hungary.

→ Communist Poland and the United States extend for another year a program under which American books, magazines, and films are made "available" to Polish citizens.

→ Soviet Premier Khrushchev pledges his continuing support to the Cuban people whom he describes as having made "an inestimable contribution to the common cause of the struggle against imperialism and colonialism."

Monday, January 2

→ Prime Minister Castro of Cuba challenges the United States to sever diplomatic relations with Cuba.

→ Communist China's Premier, Chou En-lai, receives a most friendly welcome as he arrives in Rangoon, Burma, for a state visit.

→ West Berlin officials report that 152,291 East Germans fled to West Berlin in 1960. This is an increase of 61,609

over 1959.

→ The French Defense Minister, Pierre Messmer, visits Algeria so as to order the French Army to get out the Moslem vote for the referendum, which is scheduled for January 6, 7, and 8. Messmer wants French President de Gaulle's policy of "more home rule for Algeria immediately" given affirmative support in the referendum.

→ Anti-United States demonstrations take place in Mogadiscio, capital of Somalia. The demonstrators are protesting American foreign aid to Ethiopia, which is currently engaged in a border dispute with Somalia.

→ Stewart Gilmore, American polar explorer, arrives at the Mirny Scientific Laboratory in Antarctica, where Mr. Gilmore will work with Soviet scientists during the coming months.

Tuesday, January 3

→ The United States severs diplomatic relations with Cuba. American embassy officials in Havana urge American citizens to leave Cuba immediately.

→ The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People charges that the A.F.L.-C.I.O., in its five-years-old history, has failed to eliminate racial discrimination and segregation in many of the affiliated unions.

→ The Yugoslav Government announces that the United States, through

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the Development Loan Fund, has granted Yugoslavia three new loans totalling \$27,700,000 for economic development.

Wednesday, January 4

→ Fifteen warships sail from France for the Algerian naval base at Mers-el-Kebir. The fleet is prepared to quell any violent disorders which might take place next weekend, when a referendum will be held on French President de Gaulle's policy of "more home rule for Algeria immediately."

→ Morocco's King Mohammed V proposes a Pan-African Union, which would have as its main objective the expulsion of all western influence from Africa.

Thursday, January 5

→ The Organization of American States votes to embargo all shipments of oil, oil products, trucks, and truck parts to the Dominican Republic. A similar embargo, by the same group, was placed on all arms shipments in August, 1960.

→ King Mahendra of Nepal, who seized power away from pro-Communist Premier Koirala in December, 1960, bans all political parties in the kingdom.

→ The Nigerian Government orders the French Ambassador and his staff to leave Nigeria within forty-eight hours. The action is taken as a Nigerian protest against recent French atomic bomb explosions in the Sahara Desert.

→ The United Nations Security Council dismisses Cuban charges that the United States plans to invade Cuba within forty-eight hours.

→ The Dominican Republic's Foreign Minister, Porfirio Herrera Baez, says that approval of new economic sanctions

against his nation by the Organization of American States is a result of pressures exerted by the Eisenhower Administration in complicity with the Betancourt régime of Venezuela.

Friday, January 6

→ The Soviet Union's First Deputy Premier, Anastas I. Mikoyan, and Indonesia's Defense Minister, General Abdul Ha Ris Nasution, sign an agreement, whereby the Soviets will sell military equipment to the Communist régime of Achmed S. Sukarno.

→ In Algeria, voting begins on the referendum by which French President de Gaulle seeks to have his policy of "more home rule for Algeria immediately" approved by at least sixty-five percent of the voters. This first of three-days voting is marked by violence throughout Algeria, as the Communist-led FLN terrorists intimidate, torture, and murder would-be voters.

Saturday, January 7

→ By the *Declaration of Casablanca*, leaders of Morocco, the United Arab Republic, Guinea, Ghana, Mali, Libya, and Ceylon urge the Communist-led FLN terrorists in Algeria to seek political, diplomatic, and material aid from all countries which are sympathetic to the six-years-old rebellion against French rule.

→ President-elect John F. Kennedy emphatically denies that he has considered sending a special emissary to visit Soviet Premier Khrushchev so as to get Khrushchev's views on how to improve United States-Soviet relations.

→ Soviet officials warn The Netherlands Government that it faces a "ter-

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rible risk" in allowing United States nuclear bases on Dutch territory.

→ President Eisenhower insists that "the United States has a military strength second to none."

→ The United States Department of State lifts travel restrictions for Soviet "diplomats" in New England defense areas. The restrictions were imposed in 1959, purportedly as a measure to curb Soviet espionage activities and opportunities.

Sunday, January 8

→ The *London News of the World* reports that American and British diplomats in Moscow are predicting that the Soviets will soon release two American airmen, Captains John R. McCone and Freeman B. Olmstead. The two men were captured on July 1, 1960, when their RB47 weather reconnaissance plane was shot down by Soviet fighters over the Barents Sea, north of Soviet territory.

→ The executive council of the Arab Federation of Trade Unions is warning the French Government to grant independence to Algeria, or face an Arab workers boycott.

→ Speaking on Eleanor Roosevelt's monthly television symposium, ("Prospects of Mankind"), General Alfred M. Gruenther says that European NATO forces will eventually have to be armed with nuclear weapons.

→ In three days of voting in Algeria and France, a referendum on French President de Gaulle's policy of "more home rule for Algeria immediately" is given approval by fifty-four percent of the voters. Approximately forty percent

of eligible voters in Algeria and twenty-two percent in France abstained from voting.

Monday, January 9

→ The British weekly journal, *Time and Tide*, says that the American Negro is better off than the average white British citizen in salaries, education, and housing.

→ Burmese government sources report that Communist China has offered Burma an interest-free loan of eighty-five million dollars to be used for economic and technical development.

→ The British Prime Minister, Harold Macmillan, says that the Soviet Union, but not Communist China, has abandoned the Marxist doctrine of the inevitability of war with the West.

→ British and Soviet officials sign an agreement whereby cultural, scientific, and tourists exchanges will be increased between the two nations in 1961.

Tuesday, January 10

→ Seventeen major American Jewish organizations charge that the Soviet Government denies Russian Jews the same privileges accorded to all other peoples in the Soviet Union. The charge is made before a United Nations sub-commission on the prevention of discrimination of minorities.

→ Enrique Peralta Azurdia, Guatemala's Defense Minister, admits that detachments of Guatemala's regular army are receiving intensive guerrilla tactical training at Retalhuleu, with United States army officers serving as advisers. Guatemalan officials anticipate an invasion from Cuba.

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Wednesday, January 11

→ Sweden plans to build six new long-range submarines and to spend \$10,400,000 on guided missiles in fiscal 1962.

→ Iraq and Jordan resume diplomatic relations, which had been suspended in July, 1958, as an aftermath of the revolution during which Iraqi King Feisal was killed and the pro-Western Iraqi government overthrown.

→ The United States Development Loan Fund agrees to lend twelve million dollars to Iran for the construction of a new deep-water harbor near the village of Suru, on the Persian Gulf.

→ Peruvian President Manuel Prado signs into law a measure which outlaws the Communist Party in Peru.

→ At an Islamic conference in Damascus, Syria, Ulama (Moslem doctors of theology and law) call upon Arabic and Islamic nations to consider France as being in a state of war with them. The Ulama are strong supporters of the Communist-led FLN terrorists in Algeria.

Thursday, January 12

→ Soviet officials complain that United States military planes buzzed thirty-five Soviet ships in various seas around the world last month.

→ In an agreement signed at Sofia, Bulgaria, a long-term credit of five million dollars is granted to Cuba by Bulgaria.

Friday, January 13

→ Political parties in Turkey are allowed to resume activity for the first time since June, 1960, when General

Cemal Gursel suspended such activity, a week after he seized power from the government of ex-Premier Adnan Menderes.

Saturday, January 14

→ President Eisenhower issues an executive order which forbids Americans from hoarding gold abroad. All American citizens and firms, which already own such gold, must dispose of their holdings by June 1, 1961.

→ In the Republic of the Congo, President Joseph Kasavubu demands that United Nations Secretary General Hammarskjöld recall his representative, Rajeshwar Dayal, from the Congo. Kasavubu insists that Dayal has supported the pro-Communist forces of deposed Premier Patrice Lumumba.

Sunday, January 15

→ The United States Air Force radar platform, Texas Tower Number Four, located sixty-five miles off the New Jersey coast, collapses into the ocean. Of the twenty-eight airmen and construction workers aboard, there are no survivors.

Monday, January 16

→ *Look Magazine* publishes an interview held by Edgar Snow with Chou En-lai, Communist China's Premier. Mr. Snow is a veteran propagandist and apologist for the Chinese Communists.

→ The United States Department of State announces that all Americans, except newsmen and businessmen with established connections, are banned from travelling to Cuba, unless they have special permission from the Department.

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→ President Eisenhower's budget proposal for fiscal 1962 is \$80,865,000,000, which includes \$3,625,000,000 for foreign aid. President-elect Kennedy is expected to propose at least five and one-half billion dollars for foreign aid.

→ *Tass*, the Soviet news agency, reports that Soviet Premier Khrushchev will visit Togo and other African nations. No date for the visit is revealed.

Tuesday, January 17

Five thousand Japanese dentists go on strike in Tokyo as they demand higher service fees under the nationalized medical program.

→ Doctor Geoffrey Fisher, Archbishop of Canterbury and spiritual head of the Church of England, announces that he will retire on May 31, 1961. Doctor Fisher is convinced that his wisdom increases day by day but that simultaneously his stock of patience diminishes.

→ From Washington it is reported that the United States Development Loan Fund has approved loans of six million dollars to Israel and two and one-half million dollars to the United Arab Republic.

→ In a report prepared by Lieutenant General Aly Amer, chief of staff of the United Arab Republic's armed forces, military measures against Israel are threatened if Israel diverts waters of the Jordan River. The report will be considered for adoption by the foreign ministers of the Arab League when they meet in Cairo on January 30, 1961.

→ The captain of the Soviet motor ship, *Andreyev*, complains that an American warship pursued the *Andreyev* for twenty-five minutes in the Arabian Sea

today.

Wednesday, January 18

→ Soviet Premier Khrushchev says that the Communists will continue to give full support to all national armed revolutions.

→ Adlai E. Stevenson, in testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, denies that he has had a consistent position of advocating United Nations membership for Communist China.

Thursday, January 19

→ Lieutenant Colonel John Eisenhower receives the Legion of Merit for the "illustrious service" and "exceptional ability" he has displayed as an assistant defense liaison officer and assistant staff secretary to the President since October, 1958. Secretary of the Army Wilber M. Brucker makes the presentation on behalf of President Eisenhower, John's father.

Friday, January 20

→ John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson are inaugurated as President and Vice President, respectively, of the United States.

Saturday, January 21

→ Soviet Premier Khrushchev summons Llewellyn Thompson, United States Ambassador to the Soviet Union, to the Kremlin for a two-hour discussion. Neither participant issues any statement as to the reason for the meeting.

→ United States Senate confirms President Kennedy's cabinet appointments: Secretary of State, Dean Rusk; Secre-

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tary of Defense, Robert S. McNamara; Secretary of the Treasury, C. Douglas Dillon; Secretary of Commerce, Luther H. Hodges; Secretary of Interior, Stewart H. Udall; Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, Abraham Ribicoff; Secretary of Agriculture, Orville Freeman; Secretary of Labor, Arthur J. Goldberg; Postmaster General, J. Edward Day; and Attorney General, Robert Kennedy. Also confirmed today is Adlai E. Stevenson, as United States Ambassador to the United Nations.

Sunday, January 22

→ The Castro régime in Cuba announces that it has signed a five-years trade pact with Communist China by which Cuba receives sixty million dollars worth of credit to buy industrial goods and equipment from Communist China.

Monday, January 23

→ The Portuguese passenger liner, *Santa Maria*, is seized by seventy mutineers under the leadership of a suspected Communist, Henrique Galvao. There are 620 passengers aboard the 20,960-ton liner, which was seized in the Caribbean Sea.

→ The Communist régime of Venezuela's President Romulo Betancourt suspends civil rights for an indefinite period.

→ Ferhat Abbas, Communist leader of the FLN terrorists in Algeria, tells students at Bandung University in Indonesia that he hopes the six-years-old rebellion against French rule in Algeria will end in 1961.

→ Eduardo Arze, Bolivia's Foreign Minister, says that the United States

will increase its aid to Bolivia from ten million dollars a year to between twenty-five and thirty million dollars a year. In recent years, United States aid has amounted to approximately thirty percent of Bolivia's income.

→ After thirty-three days, the nationwide general strike in Belgium ends. The strike was led by Socialists and Communists in an effort to topple the government of Premier Gaston Eyskens, who was forced to institute an austerity program as a result of the losses of Congolese revenue during the latter half of 1960.

Tuesday, January 24

→ The Central Committee of the Communist Party in Poland condemns all religious instruction in Polish schools.

Wednesday, January 25

→ At a press conference, President Kennedy announces that the Soviets have released American airmen, Captains Freeman Olmstead and John R. McKone, who have been held captive since July 1, 1960, when their RB47 weather reconnaissance plane was shot down by Soviet fighters over the Barents Sea, north of Soviet territory.

→ In Columbo, Ceylon, it is learned that the Ceylonese Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, intends to make state visits to the United Arab Republic and the Soviet Union, probably in March.

→ The pro-Communist, six-member junta, that has governed El Salvador since October 26, 1960, is overthrown by a military coup, led by Colonel Anibal Portillo.

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Thursday, January 26

→ Soviet and Iraqi leaders sign a "cultural exchange" agreement for 1961, during which 870 Iraqi students will be enrolled in Soviet schools.

→ The Soviet Government ratifies an \$810,000,000 loan to the United Arab Republic. The money will be used to complete the Aswan High Dam on the Nile River.

→ United States Senator Styles Bridges of New Hampshire says that President Kennedy should give a detailed accounting of the negotiations which resulted in the release by the Soviet Government of American airmen, Captains McKone and Olmstead. Senator Bridges seems convinced that the Soviets expect something in return.

→ Communist China's Foreign Minister, Marshall Chen Yi, says his government will "continue to work for the maintenance and consolidation" of friendship with India.

In Moscow, a Soviet newspaper, *Sovetskaya Rossiya*, praises Henrique Galvao, who seized the Portuguese liner, *Santa Maria*, on January 23, 1961.

→ Britain and the United Arab Republic resume full diplomatic relations which had been severed in 1956, during that year's dispute over the Suez Canal.

Friday, January 27

→ Adlai E. Stevenson, United States Ambassador to the United Nations, says he believes that President Kennedy would be glad to meet with Soviet Premier Khrushchev, who has indicated he will visit the United Nations General Assembly in March. Mr. Steven-

son also says that his present goal in the United Nations will be to achieve "normal relations" with all nations, including Communist China.

Saturday, January 28

→ Secretary of State Dean Rusk assures Nationalist China of the Kennedy Administration's "warm friendship and mutual esteem" which will "grow in the years to come."

→ It is reported that White House and State Department officials have censored a speech which was to be delivered by Admiral Arleigh Burke, Chief of Naval Operations. Administration sources explain that this censorship is in keeping with President Kennedy's desire to lessen tough language with regard to the Soviet Union.

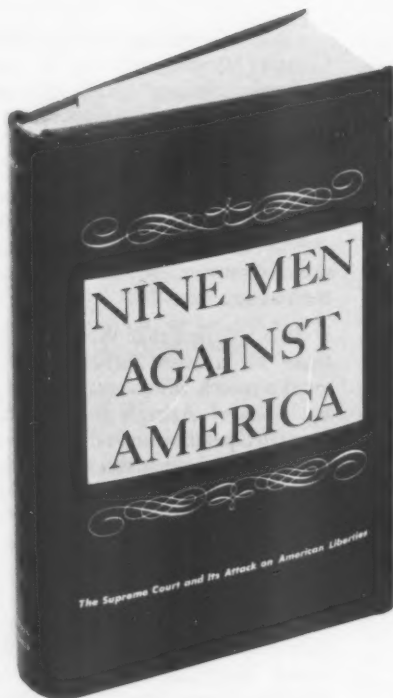
Sunday, January 29

→ Brazil's pro-Communist President-elect Janio Quadros says that if his old friend Henrique Galvao, who seized the Portuguese liner, *Santa Maria*, on January 23, 1961, lands in a Brazilian port, he, Quadros, will not give up the ship to Portuguese authorities.

Monday, January 30

→ The Republic of China's President, Chiang Kai-shek, offers 100,000 metric tons of rice as relief for the famine-stricken people on the Chinese mainland. Chiang urges free governments and international relief agencies to try and persuade Chinese Communist leaders to accept such relief from Taiwan and other sources.

→ It is reported that President Kennedy is disturbed that there are no Negroes at the present time in the United States Coast Guard Academy at New London,



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Connecticut.

→ The showing of a television drama ("The Spy Next Door"), critical of Soviet espionage activities in the United States, is cancelled by the Columbia Broadcasting System. It is reported that White House pressure was exerted to force the cancellation.

Tuesday, January 31

→ In a message to Brazil's President-elect, Janio Quadros, Henrique Galvao, who hijacked the Portuguese liner, *Santa Maria*, says that he will bring the liner's 620 passengers ashore tomorrow at Recife, Brazil.

→ By a vote of 217 to 212, the House of Representatives approves a Kennedy Administration plan to increase the House Rules Committee membership from twelve to fifteen. House Speaker Sam Rayburn of Texas led the floor fight for the measure.

→ Rear Admiral Stephen H. Evans, superintendent of the United States Coast Guard Academy at New London,

Connecticut, denies that the Academy discriminates against the admission of Negro students. Such an implication was made from the White House yesterday.

→ Ten thousand Japanese physicians go on strike and demonstrate in streets as they demand an increase in fees and an expansion of the Japanese Government's health insurance system.

→ Two British newspapers, the *London Daily Express* and the *London Daily Mail*, praise the action of President Kennedy's Administration whereby it censored a planned speech of Admiral Arleigh Burke, Chief of Naval Operations.

→ Prime Minister Hayato Ikeda, in an address to the Japanese Parliament, says that "Japan welcomes any improvement of relations, particularly expansion of trade," with Communist China.

→ Eugene Dennis, former head of the Communist Party in the United States, dies at the age of fifty-six in New York City.

FEBRUARY, 1961

Wednesday, February 1

→ President Kennedy orders the lifting of restrictions on the number of military dependents abroad. In November, 1960, President Eisenhower made plans to cut the number of dependents overseas from 484,000 to about 265,000.

→ Soviet Premier Khrushchev accepts an invitation from King Mohammed V to visit Morocco later this year.

→ Henrique Galvao, who seized the Portuguese liner, *Santa Maria*, in the

Caribbean on January 23, 1961, sails the liner into the harbor of Recife, Brazil. Brazilian President Janio Quadros grants his old friend, Galvao, political asylum.

Thursday, February 2

→ President Kennedy's press secretary, Pierre Salinger, says that British Prime Minister Macmillan and Mr. Kennedy will confer in Washington, during the week of April 2, 1961.

→ Canada's Minister of Agriculture,

The Personal Income Tax, which was devised by Karl Marx and was prescribed by him in the Communist Manifesto for the self-destruction of America, is the source of all evil. It can, and must be, repealed if America is to remain a nation of free people.

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A Review Of The News

Alvin Hamilton, reports that Canada is selling forty million bushels of grain, valued at sixty million dollars, to Communist China. Mr. Hamilton reported last week on the sale of 7,300,000 bushels of wheat to the Soviet Union, and that there are negotiations under way to sell Canadian grain to Communist Czechoslovakia.

→ The Columbia Broadcasting System has scheduled the showing of the television drama ("The Spy Next Door") for February 15. The drama was originally scheduled for showing on February 1, but it was cancelled by the CBS network, reportedly due to White House pressures.

→ It is revealed today that Communist China has ordered one million tons of wheat, valued at \$60,500,000, from Australia.

Friday, February 3

→ Brazilian President Janio Quadros signs a decree whereby the liner, *Santa Maria*, is given over to Portuguese authorities. The liner had been seized by Henrique Galvao on January 23, 1961, in the Caribbean. Galvao and twenty-eight of his cohorts have accepted political asylum in Brazil.

Saturday, February 4

→ Soviet officials claim that they have launched a Sputnik weighing seven tons. Pentagon and White House officials say that they had prior knowledge of the launching.

→ Communist Hungary and Greece sign a trade pact for 1961, whereby Hungarian machinery will be exchanged for Greek farm products.

Sunday, February 5

→ *Pravda* reports that the Soviets have sent equipment to Cairo where an antibiotic and pharmaceutical factory will be built for the United Arab Republic. According to this same report, United Arab Republic technicians will learn how to operate the factory in Moscow.

→ In Cuba, the Castro régime seizes control of the Caimanera Aqueduct Company which supplies most of the fresh water used at the United States Naval Base at Guantanamo Bay.

Monday, February 6

→ Kennedy Administration officials admit there is no "missile gap" favorable to the Soviets over the United States.

Tuesday, February 7

→ President Ngo dinh Diem of South Vietnam says he will run for a second five-years term in the presidential elections which will be held on April 9, 1961.

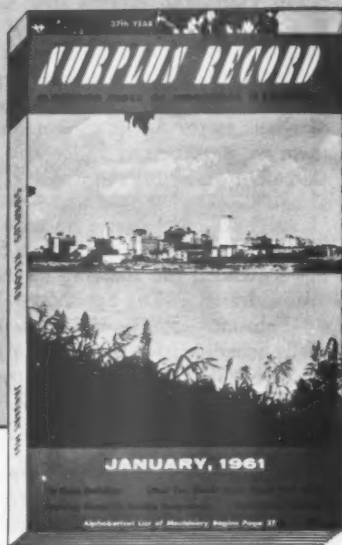
→ President Moise Tshombe of Katanga Province in the Republic of the Congo warns United Nations Secretary General Hammarskjöld that any United Nations attempt to disarm Katanga forces would be considered as a declaration of war.

Wednesday, February 8

→ The United States Atomic Energy Commission announces a long-range peaceful atomic energy development program for Japan.

→ Britain's Foreign Secretary, the Earl of Home, says that the facts of international life require the admission of Communist China into the United Na-

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Editor and Publisher

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A Review Of The News

tions.

→ President Kennedy says he is not sure whether there is a "missile gap" between the Soviet Union and the United States. During the presidential campaign of 1960, Mr. Kennedy repeatedly emphasized that the Soviet Union had a decided advantage over the United States with regard to missiles.

Thursday, February 9

→ The *French News Agency* reports that France will not conduct any more nuclear weapons tests in the Sahara. Any further testing will be held in the Indian Ocean.

→ The United States Senate confirms the appointment of Robert C. Weaver to be the Administrator of the Federal Housing and Home Finance Agency. Mr. Weaver has recently been Chairman of the Board for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Friday, February 10

→ Patrice Lumumba, deposed Premier of the Republic of the Congo, escapes from detention in Katanga Province. Lumumba was deposed and jailed by Congolese President Joseph Kasavubu in September, 1960.

Saturday, February 11

→ It is announced from Washington that the Soviets will have exhibitions of children's books next summer in New York City, Cleveland, and Denver. Other Soviet exhibitions will include medical displays and children's artistic and technical work, but no dates or sites have been announced for these.

Sunday, February 12

→ Cuba's Prime Minister Castro says that "Cuba feels entitled to encourage revolution in Latin America."

→ It is reported that Kennedy Administration officials have protested to Morocco about its increased military ties with the Soviet Union.

→ In Cairo, the Belgian Embassy is attacked by a mob which is demonstrating on behalf of Patrice Lumumba, the deposed Premier of the Republic of the Congo.

Monday, February 13

→ Interior Minister Godefroid Munongo, of Katanga Province in the Republic of the Congo, announces that deposed Premier Patrice Lumumba was slain Sunday night by unidentified villagers.

→ The Philippines, Malaya, and Thailand form the Association of the Southeast Asian States, an economic and cultural alliance. Other nations invited to join the alliance in the future include Indonesia, Burma, and South Vietnam.

Tuesday, February 14

→ President Tito of Communist Yugoslavia begins a tour which will include state visits to Ghana, Togo, Liberia, Guinea, Morocco, Tunisia, and the United Arab Republic.

→ The United Arab Republic assures Belgian officials that the Belgian Embassy in Cairo will be protected against attacks such as occurred two days ago.

Wednesday, February 15

→ While United States Ambassador to

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A Review Of The News

the United Nations, Adlai E. Stevenson, is addressing the Security Council, Communist-led Negro spectators riot in the chamber. The Negroes demonstrate in memory of the late Patrice Lumumba, the deposed and slain Premier of the Republic of the Congo. Later in the day, whites and Negroes demonstrate in New York streets. Among the participants are members of the United African Nationalists, the American Negro Moslem Brotherhood, and Benjamin Davis, Jr., Negro national chairman of the Communist Party of the United States.

→ The United States denies that it is planning to resume diplomatic relations with Albania. The *Daily Post* of Athens Greece had reported that American-Albanian negotiations were being conducted in Rome and in the United Nations.

→ President Kennedy announces that the United States is recognizing the anti-Communist junta that seized control of El Salvador's Government on January 25, 1961.

→ The Belgian Embassy in Cairo is set afire by a huge mob which demonstrates on behalf of the late Patrice Lumumba, deposed Premier of the Republic of the Congo.

Thursday, February 16

→ The Portuguese liner *Santa Maria*, arrives in Lisbon from Recife, Brazil. The liner had been held for thirteen days by Henrique Galvao, a pro-Communist rebel, who has been granted political asylum in Brazil.

Friday, February 17

→ The *New York Daily News* claims

that former President Eisenhower has proof-sheets of the records of the World War II conferences at Cairo, Teheran, and Potsdam. Mr. Eisenhower denies that he took such materials from the White House.

Saturday, February 18

→ In Jakarta, Indonesia, five hundred "students" invade the home of United States Ambassador Howard Jones. The vandals smash furniture and terrorize women servants in a protest against the death of Patrice Lumumba, the deposed Premier of the Republic of the Congo.

→ Vice Admiral John S. Thach, the commander of United States anti-submarine forces in the Pacific, says there is evidence that Communist China is building its own submarine force.

→ It is reported that President Kennedy has offered Brazil an immediate credit up to one hundred million dollars so that Brazil's new president, Janio Quadros, might be able to bring his nation's finances into order.

Sunday, February 19

→ The *Committee of One Million*, against United States recognition of Communist China or the admission of Communist China to the United Nations, reports that fifty-four United States Senators and 285 Representatives support the committee's views.

Monday, February 20

→ Belgian King Badouin dissolves the Belgian Parliament and orders new elections to be held on March 26, 1961. The King's action culminates a lengthy struggle between Premier Gaston Eysken's Catholic-Conservative coalition and the Socialists.

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A Review Of The News

→ Soviet Marshal Vasily Sokolovsky, the Soviet Army's chief of staff, claims that the Soviet Union's armed forces are at an "unprecedented high level of military preparedness."

Tuesday, February 21

→ In Rangoon, Burma, thousands of stone-throwing "students" demonstrate against the United States by smashing windows of the American Embassy. The "students" use as an excuse the recent death of Patrice Lumumba, the deposed Premier of the Republic of the Congo.

Wednesday, February 22

→ President Kennedy, in a message to Soviet Premier Khrushchev, expresses hopes for improvement in United States-Soviet relations.

Thursday, February 23

→ The United States Department of Commerce announces that the United States exported more goods to the Soviet bloc in 1960 than in any year since 1947. Goods worth \$120,000,000 were shipped in the first nine months of 1960.

Friday, February 24

→ Pakistan's Finance Minister Mohamed Shoaib asks the United States for a \$725,000,000 "food for peace plan." Under the proposed terms, the United States would send a shipload of food every other day for four years to Pakistan.

→ The United States Department of State suggests that free elections be held in Cuba as a step towards settling differences between Cuba and the United States.

Saturday, February 25

→ The *Fair Play for Cuba Committee*, a pro-Communist group which is supported by the Castro régime, organizes six hundred demonstrators who march in front of the White House as a protest against United States policy with regard to Cuba.

Sunday, February 26

→ Morocco's King Mohammed V dies after a minor operation. Crown Prince Moulay Hassan is proclaimed successor to the throne. The new king, Moulay Hassan II, is pro-Communist as was his father.

Monday, February 27

→ Tunisian President Habib Bourguiba and French President de Gaulle discuss means of a peaceful settlement of the six-years-old Algerian rebellion.

→ Representative Francis E. Walter of Pennsylvania, chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, says that he will retire from Congress after his present term expires in January, 1963.

Tuesday, February 28

→ The Department of State is preparing a plan for reciprocal visits by United States and Communist Chinese newsmen.

→ In the Republic of the Congo, President Kasavubu negotiates a military pact with Katanga Province's President Moise Tshombe and Kasai Province's President Albert Kalonji. The pact is directed against the pro-Communist and Communist-supported régime of Antoine Gizenga in Stanleyville.

CONFETTI

We don't know what this has to do with the Aesculapian profession, but the Journal of the American Medical Association tells of the time when Irving Berlin urged Victor Borge to play only classics.

Borge replied: "I would, but every time I play Mozart I hear a little voice that whispers over and over, 'Don't play it, don't play it!'"

"Do you recognize the voice?" asked Berlin.

"Oh, sure," said Borge. "It's Mozart's!"

* * *

Acrobat: "Where's the trapeze?"

Saint Peter: "You missed it, son, you missed it."

* * *

A man applying for a job asked the interviewer whether the company would pay for his hospital insurance. The interviewer said the worker would have to pay for it but it was deducted from his check.

"Last place I worked the company paid for it," he said.

"Did they pay for your life insurance too?" the interviewer asked.

"Sure they did," the man said. "Not only that, but we got unlimited sick leave, severance pay, three weeks vacation, a Christmas bonus, coffee breaks —"

"Then why did you leave such a perfect place?" the interviewer asked.

"The company folded," the man replied.

* * *

We've received so many copies of this joke that we are beginning to suspect a certain secretary—and/or wife. It goes as follows: "And then there's the secretary who, when her boss was home sick, sent a sympathy note—to his wife."

* * *

An army lieutenant received a picture from his fiancée taken at the beach,

showing two happy couples sitting on the sand with their arms around each other, while she sat near them, alone and lonely.

The accompanying letter explained how much she missed him and how she was fretting away the time until he returned. The lieutenant proudly showed it around to several fellow officers.

That night, however, after studying it a long time, he turned to his best friend and said:

"Carl, I wonder who took that picture?"

* * *

College boy: "Do you know the difference between a filet mignon and a hamburger?"

Coed: "No, I don't."

College boy: "Waiter, bring us two hamburgers, please."

* * *

We have debated for days, we mean hours—well, several minutes—or thirty seconds anyway, whether to put this item on an editorial page, with anger, or on the *Confetti* page, with laughter. The laughter won, so here it is. In the 1961 No. 6 list, dated March 17, 1961, of publications of the U.S. Government that are available from the Government Printing Office, we call your attention to item No. 54F. Its title is: *Tea Drinking In 18th-Century America: Its Etiquette And Equipage*. It is described as "A study of teatime behavior in 18th century America, and of the utensils used or thought appropriate during this period." If ordering, identify it as "Catalog No. SI 3.3:225/paper 14." Its price is 40¢ per copy.

* * *

Boy: "Mister, my dad wants to borrow your corkscrew."

Neighbor: "Okay, sonny, you run along. I'll bring it over."

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